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ABSTRACT

Guatemala's school completion rates are among the lowest in Latin America and are particularly low in rural indigenous areas ravaged by 36 years of civil conflict. In 1997, USAID launched the Girls' Education Activity, known as Proyecto Global in Guatemala, to increase the percentage of girls who complete fifth grade, especially in rural areas and among indigenous (Maya) populations. For 4 years ending August 2001, the project promoted a national discourse on girls' education; developed materials crafted to promote girls' education in the Guatemalan social and cultural context; and pursued four strategies, focusing on the department of El Quiche. First, materials and teacher workshops were developed to increase teachers' sensitivity to gender stereotypes and roles and to introduce instructional methods that engage children and make them agents in their own learning. Adoption of these "interactive and dynamic" teaching methods by rural teachers has been slow. Second, community "sensitizing" workshops were held in 15 communities to raise awareness of the importance of girls' education and female literacy and to promote community involvement. Third, a national media campaign aimed to influence social attitudes impeding girls' access to education. Finally, small monthly scholarships were provided to about 50,000 girls over 3 years. Analysis of systemic changes suggests that the project made varying degrees of progress in legitimizing its goals with policy makers, creating stakeholders, and mobilizing resources in favor of girls' education. However, the constituency for girls' education in Guatemala remains limited to certain sectors of society and is robust only in pockets where community work was carried out. (SV)

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CHANGING GIRLS' EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA

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The Guatemalan Educational Environment

GEA in Guatemala began in the wake of Guatemala's 36-year civil conflict, which ended with the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. The Guatemalan Peace Accords are more than a formal ending to years of armed conflict; they represent a social compact pledging that Guatemala will become a more participatory, pluralistic, and equitable society. The Accords require major investments in health, education, and other basic services to reach the rural indigenous poor. They also require the full participation of the indigenous people in local and national decision making. For the latter to occur, Guatemala needs to raise the level of education of the country as a whole. Adult illiteracy in the country is estimated at 35 percent, but among indigenous—Mayan—women it is estimated at 75 percent. Moreover, Guatemala's school completion rates are among the lowest in Latin America. Even third-grade completion rates are well below those in many other developing countries. In rural indigenous areas, such as the Department of El Quiché—a region ravaged during Guatemala's civil conflict—the situation is deplorable: only 20 percent of girls and 26 percent of boys who began first grade in 1996 completed third grade in 1998.

In 1997, an assessment of the barriers to improving levels of primary education in Guatemala identified four principal types of obstacles: (1) limited household and family resources among the poor, which makes the loss of a child's labor a huge economic sacrifice for a family; (2) the lack of schools in many rural areas and the lack of any public transportation in remote regions; (3) poor nutrition, sanitation, and health, which can detrimentally affect children's attendance and their ability and readiness to learn; (4) traditional socio-cultural beliefs, values, and practices that do not place much value on formal education and that regard an education for girls as a waste of time and money;

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and (5) poor quality schooling, which all too often requires rote memorization, relies on lecturing methods, privileges boys, and makes little accommodation for children whose first language is not Spanish.[1]

Overview of the Guatemala Girls' Education Project

The USAID Office of Girls and Women in Development (G/WID) launched the Girls' Education Activity in Guatemala in September 1997 when World Learning opened an office in Guatemala City for Proyecto Global, the local name for GEA in Guatemala, to carry out the Girls' Education project. The goal of the project was to provide assistance on the national and local levels to facilitate change in the community, classroom, and home that would increase the percentage of girls who complete fifth grade, especially in rural areas and among indigenous populations. Between September 1997 and August 2001, the project promoted a national discourse on girls' education, developed materials particularly well crafted to promote girls' education in the Guatemalan social and cultural context, and demonstrated the effectiveness and constraints of four strategies: (1) changing teacher practices, (2) increasing community support for girls' education, (3) increasing public awareness about girls' education issues, and (4) increasing girls' access to education. This chapter places these activities in context and describes them in detail.

Because of its critical situation and multiple impediments to indigenous girls' education, Guatemala was one of the original countries where USAID decided to initiate a girls' education project. Proyecto Global, however, was the second USAID girls' education project in Guatemala. USAID began to promote girls' education in Guatemala in 1993 when its Basic Education Strengthening (BEST) project (1989–1997) launched Guatemala's first Girls' Education Project (BEST/GEP). Thus Proyecto Global's girls' education activity did not begin with a blank slate. It began within a nexus of preexisting relationships, infrastructures, and expectations, and it began with a set of inherited materials and strategies. The fact that Proyecto Global was not a pioneer should, in theory, have given the project a running start. In reality, however, it gave Proyecto Global a very slow start.

One reason for this slow start was that BEST/GEP was scheduled to end in 1996 but was extended a year and a half until 1997. To avoid having two independent USAID girls' education projects working in the country at the same time, USAID/Washington decided to postpone Proyecto

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[1] Angela Leal, "Guatemala: Status Report: Knowledge Base of Girls' Education," (Sept 1997), prepared for the Institute for International Research (currently part of AIR).

Global until BEST/GEP officially ended. In addition, Proyecto Global started slowly because it had to spend considerable time redefining itself at its inception.

USAID originally envisioned Proyecto Global as a counterpart of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Together with the Guatemalan government, Proyecto Global and JICA were to work on the Common Agenda that the United States, Japan, and Guatemala had agreed on in 1995. The Common Agenda was an agreement within the framework of the international Women in Development Initiative (WID) that identified a set of goals for U.S., Japanese, and Guatemalan cooperation to promote girls' education. Proyecto Global and Japanese experts were to begin work in 1996 with SIMAC, the training and curriculum branch of the Ministry of Education, to strengthen girls' education institutionally by training Guatemalan teachers to integrate more active and gender-sensitive lessons into their classes.[2] Proyecto Global's year and a half delay in starting disrupted these plans.

Because of the delayed start, USAID/Washington decided that Proyecto Global would not be able to work with the Japanese group as originally planned, even though JICA began work in response to the Common Agenda in 1996 and had begun planning cooperative efforts with representatives of BEST and Proyecto Global's future coordinator in 1997. JICA was informed that USAID "prefers that Japan and USAID execute their projects running parallel within the Common Agenda frame," and Proyecto Global was informed that it would no longer "work with the Common Agenda as it was defined in 1995."[3] USAID/Guatemala and the national director of Proyecto Global, Angela Leal, had to then define how Proyecto Global would implement the girls' education activity in Guatemala.

Working with USAID/Washington and the prime contractor, American Institutes for Research (AIR)'s Institute for International Research, Leal formulated a work plan for Proyecto Global at the end of 1997. According to this work plan, Proyecto Global would (1) continue the type of work that BEST/GEP had supported and (2) institutionalize changes promoting or strengthening girls' education. Proyecto Global proposed to continue the type of work done by FUNDAZUCAR's[4]

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[2] Angela Leal, "Guatemala Work Plan," dated May 1997, pp. 5-6. See also, Abigail M. Harris, "GEA Trip Report #7" (16 July—7 August 1997).

[3] GEA monthly report of October 1997 (dated November 4, 1997), 5.

[4] FUNDAZUCAR (a contraction of Foundation of Sugar Producers) began supporting girls' education soon after it in was founded in 1990. In Guatemala, FUNDAZUCAR has a reputation of efficiently and effectively implementing projects on education, health, and infrastructure programs. FUNDAZUCAR partially funded the research and the publication of Guatemala's National Plan of Action on Girls' Education and was selected to implement the Eduque a la Niña project in a competitive bidding process. FUNDAZUCAR and other participating

Eduque a la Niña (Educate the Girl) in two ways: (1) by adopting *Eduque*'s three intervention strategies—providing scholarships supported by social promoters to sensitize parents to the importance of girls' education, creating parent committees supported by promoters, and providing gender-sensitive educational materials to teachers[5]—and (2) by using the materials created by BEST/GEP to promote girls' education. This strategy allowed Proyecto Global to comply with USAID/Washington's November 1997 prohibition on creating new materials to promote girls' education in Guatemala, which was mandated because such materials had been created by BEST/GEP. Proyecto Global proposed to institutionalize changes by creating a national education advisory council that would foster national coordination of efforts in support of girls' education as a parallel effort to JICA's work.

In February 1998 (five months into the project), USAID/Guatemala suggested that Proyecto Global's five-year work plan was pursuing too many disparate actions and recommended that Proyecto Global focus on "bilingual education and understanding of cultural, linguistic, and gender problems" (i.e., a continuation of most of the *Eduque* work). USAID/Guatemala noted, however, that if "Global Project is not completely convinced of this articulation and its link with USAID/G[uatemala]'s strategy, we recommend that the Global Project focus and develop results (national coordination). USAID/ G[uatemala] will work on its own strategy, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Project with results 1, 2 and 3 (teacher training, [classroom methodologies and] materials, and participation)."[6] Proyecto Global accepted USAID/Guatemala's recommendation and focused on continuing the strategies of *Eduque a la Niña,* leaving the work of national coordination to JICA and other organizations, such as Asociación Eduquemos a la Niña (AEN). (Organized as a commission in 1991 and incorporated as a legal entity in 1995, AEN is a membership organization that brings together representatives of the Ministry of Education, FUNDAZUCAR, ANACAFE, FUNRURAL, the Baha'i Community, and others interested in promoting girl's education.[7])

Conducting a Situational Assessment

Taking up USAID/Guatemala's recommended focus (on "understanding of cultural, linguistic, and gender problems"), Proyecto Global contracted Dr. Michael Richards to direct a Situational Assessment for GEA. This study, directed by Dr. Richards and conducted by Proyecto

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institutions were expected to generate funds from private sector groups within the country to pay for the project and to establish sustainability for its activities.

[5] CDIE, Impact Evaluation "Improving Girls' Education in Guatemala" (July 1999), p. 8.

[6] See GEA, Monthly Report for Feb 1998 (dated "2/10/98," sic.).

[7] For a more detailed account of the creation and work of AEN, see Ministerio de Educación, *La Iniciativa de la Educación de la Niña: Una retrospectiva 1991-1997* (Guatemala, CA: BEST 1997).

Global staff, began in April 1998 and was completed in March 1999. This study was designed to (1) identify how indigenous families "assess[ed] the utility of sending children to school" and (2) "build an ethnoclassificatory model of child development that can be used in subsequent phases of the Girls' Education Project, for example, in the construction of motivational messages to enhance girls' educational participation."[8] Strategically, Dr. Richards's study was meant to provide direction for the development of Proyecto Global's three areas of activities to increase girls' participation in primary school:

1. Changing teacher practices through teacher training and improved classroom methodologies
2. Increasing community support for girls' education through community participatory learning activities or community sensitizing workshops
3. Increasing public awareness of the need for girls' education through the use of social communication materials

The study, however, was not completed until two months after Proyecto Global had organized and held, in January 1999, its initial teacher training workshop in Chichicastenango for El Quiché teachers to learn about and prepare a teachers' manual on interactive and dynamic teaching methods. Moreover, the findings of the situational assessment did not lend themselves to any direct application for structuring community "sensitizing" workshops or for creating social communication materials. The study had seven main findings:

1. "Girls' participation in schooling has improved significantly in the past ten years," but "boys still are expected to attain higher levels of education than girls."
2. "Girls are expected to diminish their mobility even at the age they attend primary school," because "sexual maturity is supposed to be countered by behaviors that minimize their exposure to men," which includes "not traveling to and from school or being in classrooms with male teachers."
3. "The acquisition of Spanish language skills, particularly verbal skills, is seen as the primary motivator for school attendance."
4. "Younger children are being spoken to more in Spanish as a first language [than previously was common]," and "fathers speak more to their children in Spanish than do mothers."
5. "Teachers are scrutinized more and more by community committees through the Ministry of Education's decentralization policies," and "student attendance is up" as a consequence of more regular teacher attendance.

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[8] Michael Richards, "Situational Assessment of Girls' Education in Quiché, December 1998—Where are we and where are we going?" (December 11, 1998), 12, 13.

6. "Quiché notions and expectations of children"—
— Place "an emphasis on children learning by observation and imitation," from an early age;
— Consider "by age seven–eight, [that] children are functioning as contributing members [of their family and community]";
— Consider "by age 11–12, [that] children are working more and playing less, especially girls"; and
— Consider "by age 15–16, [that] both girls and boys are fully tracked into productive performance, and school is not prominent in their lives."

7. "Regional Maya society is undergoing transformations....One hears the phrases of a number of mothers who express that it is their intention to ensure that theirs will be the last illiterate generation of women."[9]

Such findings contributed to the academic literature on girls' education in Guatemala and were used in the creation of social communication materials. However, the study as a whole was deemed too technical and academic by the Mission (USAID/Guatemala) other NGOs, and the Ministry of Education. In the end, it consumed a great deal of the project's time and resources during the first year without providing any applicable strategies.

Teacher Training and Classroom Methodologies

Proyecto Global's first efforts to institutionalize change that could increase girls' participation in school focused on teacher training. In the context of Guatemalan school reform, teacher training to promote girls' education has meant not only training teachers to be sensitive to gender stereotypes and roles, but also introducing instructional methods that engage children and make them agents in their own learning. Traditional pedagogical practices in Guatemala consist of lecture, memorization, recitation, and tests. For indigenous children who have never been exposed to literacy practices, who have not seen a value placed on formal education, and whose mother tongue (and often only language) is a Mayan language, these traditional methods in Spanish can make school a frustrating, intimidating, and even demeaning experience. Teaching teachers interactive and dynamic methods to incorporate into their lessons can make schooling more accessible and appealing to the indigenous girls who are most at risk of leaving school.

To promote the use of such interactive and dynamic methods by teachers, Proyecto Global supplied the Ministry of Education's Dirección General de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (DIGEBI) with teacher training materials prepared by BEST/GEP. If DIGEBI, a major division in the Ministry of Education working to improve education for indigenous children, had made such

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[9] See Drs. Michael Richards and Fidel Arevalo, Análisis situacional de la educación de la niña en le departamento de el Quiché, (Guatemala, March 1999), 65-69, quotation 66. Also see the English draft manuscript "Girls' Education in Quiché, Guatemala," (Draft Manuscript for World Learning, n.d.), 15-17, quotation 17.

material a regular part of teacher training, then institutionalizing teacher training in interactive and dynamic methods would have taken a large step forward.

Unfortunately, in May 1998, six months into the project, DIGEBI reported that the materials provided by Proyecto Global were not suitable for use in rural areas (where most DIGEBI-supported bilingual instruction occurs) because they were too complex and abstract and relied on difficult vocabulary. Proyecto Global's Director reviewed these materials—namely, *Creando Oportunidades para las Niñas* (BEST 1997) and *Las experiencias con la educación de la niña* (BEST 1997)—with rural teachers in mind. The Director agreed that the materials were pitched at too abstract a level for most teachers in Guatemala and failed to provide practical examples of how to apply the materials to their lessons. Because USAID/Washington had prohibited Proyecto Global from creating new materials, Director Leal sought advice from USAID/Guatemala, which recommended revising the materials in the teachers' manual to simplify its language and make it more accessible to all teachers. USAID/Guatemala then advanced the idea of working with Quiché teachers to do this. In fall 1998, Guatemala's Ministry of Education granted permission to hold teacher workshops, and USAID/Washington allowed the development of new materials for teacher training.

These complications meant that teacher-training activities, like the project as a whole, started slowly. Thus, for the first year, Proyecto Global's time and efforts went into (1) preparing for the Third National Seminar on Girl's Education (held in May 1998 by JICA) and (2) conducting the situational assessment.

The teacher-training workshop held in Chichicastenango from January 25 to 29, 1999, initiated Proyecto Global's own work in teacher training. This workshop, led by Dr. Sudia Paloma McCaleb of New College of California, reviewed a variety of interactive and dynamic teaching methods for Guatemalan teachers to apply in their own classes. These activities included creating interactive diaries, conducting interactive readings, making personal books, using picture books to introduce books and the concept of recorded stories, and using audio materials. Dr. Paloma presented one lesson twice—the first time using traditional teaching methods and the second time using more active teaching practices (*dinámicas*). This demonstration made a very compelling case for *dinámicas*. Approximately 40 teachers attended this workshop and worked with Dr. Paloma to produce, by the end of the workshop, *La Creación de Un Curriculum Auténtico Para Motivar a Niñas Mayas y a Sus Familias* (The Creation of an Authentic Curriculum to Motivate Maya Girls and Their Families). *La Creación* was intended as a manual to give teachers ideas for interactive and dynamic teaching methods well suited to support girls' education.

Tomasa Bulux, Proyecto Global's Quiché Advisor, followed up on this workshop in the spring of 1999 when she visited the various communities from which the participating teachers had come. Bulux delivered audiocassettes with recorded materials that supplemented the teachers' manual and inquired about how much the school used the manual's ideas. Bulux found that few of these ideas were being applied in the classroom and that only the bilingual teachers who attended Dr. Paloma's workshop used any interactive and dynamic lessons. Other teachers in the schools either did not adopt or did not learn about the manual's ideas. One reason, according to a teacher at Chipaca Elementary School, was that "no one really knew how to apply the *dinámicas*."

Proyecto Global's responded to this difficulty by setting up training sessions in how to apply the ideas of the teachers' manual. With the help of DIGEBI, Bulux selected seven communities on the basis of the availability and cooperation of teachers, school distance, and accessibility. Bulux began to lead these local training (and sensitization) sessions for teachers during the summer. By the fall, however, it was clear that more than support was needed. Proyecto Global thus decided to retool the teachers' manual and involve more teachers in the process.

Proyecto Global received permission to organize a follow-up workshop in October 1999, which included teachers who had participated in the January workshop as well as new teachers. These teachers accepted Dr. Paloma's organization of the teachers' manual as a framework and set about to develop explanations for the various interactive and dynamic teaching methods—explanations that would facilitate the use of the materials by teachers "who did not have considerable training or imagination and who lacked time to learn [how to use them]."[10] The process of working with other teachers on this task was considered very fruitful because it allowed teachers to cooperate and share their experiences and stimulated teachers to think about how to involve girls in classroom lessons.

The participating teachers soon realized that what they were attempting to accomplish—making the teachers' manual accessible and useful for rural teachers—was more than they could do in a single workshop. Thus they requested that the work be continued. In the end, seven workshops were needed (spread out between fall 1999 and summer 2000) before the original teachers' manual was completely revised into *Sugerencias de dinámicas que apoyan mi trabajo: Actividades para que las niñas y los niños mejoren su aprendizaje en el aula* (Suggested dynamic lessons that can assist my teaching: Activities for boys and girls to improve their classroom learning). The final version of the manual contains about 50 activities and presentations (ranging from guided activities for children

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[10] Interview with teachers at Chipaca Elementary School, (Provasnik and Elias, 6/6/01).

to describe how they feel in given situations to drawings for children to tell a story about), plus two dozen songs and mini-posters conveying basic values in picture form (e.g., show respect to others, listen attentively, be trustworthy).

In schools and classrooms where teachers have applied the suggested dynamic lessons of *Sugerencias*, teachers and the Ministry of Education's Quiché Office of the Technical Administrative Coordinator (CTA in Spanish) have reported various positive results:

- The relationships between students and teachers (with students growing to have greater trust in teachers, talking to them outside of the classroom, and so on) and the nature of the school (gradually shifting from a place to be taught to a community of learners) have changed noticeably.
- Students are becoming engaged in their own education, even making suggestions in the classroom for the first time (e.g., suggesting using natural materials from the river instead of teacher-supplied materials).
- Teachers are discovering which students have natural leadership skills (from small-group activities) and are able to nurture those skills.
- Girls are more confident about speaking out and participating.
- Girls and boys cooperate more frequently and with greater ease outside of the classroom because they have done activities together in the classroom.

Although all these results were encouraging (though none were measured), DIGEBI was not pleased with the final product because it was prepared only in Spanish and not in the local Mayan language, K'iche', for bilingual use. DIGEBI had given its support to Proyecto Global's teacher training activities because it expected to see contributions to bilingual teaching methods. In its final form, *Sugerencias* does not address bilingual teaching methods. However, according to bilingual teachers who participated in the creation of *Sugerencias,* DIGEBI has a narrow view of bilingual education and appears to miss the point of the manual: to introduce teaching methods that make the classroom more dynamic and hence more interesting to students, especially indigenous —that is, bilingual—students, who typically are not engaged by traditional rote teaching techniques. These teachers emphasize that all teachers in the country read Spanish and can conduct the dynamic activities in any language. Therefore, they do not see the need for the manual to be translated into each indigenous language.

Without DIGEBI's support for *Sugerencias*, the future of the manual for a while was unclear. Even in its revised format, teachers cannot pick up the manual and immediately apply its contents. Some training is essential for teachers to appreciate the transformative power of the *dinámicas* and to

understand how they should incorporate the *dinámicas* into their lessons. As one teacher who participated in the development of *Sugerencias* noted, "These *dinámicas* are not simply fun activities and games to do with children," which is apparently what many teachers think when they hear the word *dinámicas*. She emphasized that teachers need to realize that interactive teaching methods can complement lessons rather than distract from them. She pointed out that many teachers are understandably reluctant to try *dinámicas* if they think that they are games to be interspersed with schoolwork so that children enjoy some of the school day. These teachers believe that such games ultimately make children reluctant to do schoolwork because they want to spend time playing games.

Training in how to incorporate *dinámicas* into classroom lessons is relatively simple to organize and fund, and plenty of teachers in El Quiché, who participated in the development of *Sugerencias*, are available to lead such training for their fellow teachers. Yet, Proyecto Global was not able to hold training in El Quiché. The CTA in the Quiché regional center of Sacapulas, a municipality in the western part of El Quiché, organized a number of training sessions for teachers in spring 2001. However, these sessions never occurred because the instructors from the USAID-World Learning initiative Access to Intercultural Bilingual Education (AIBE) Program (or PAEBI in Spanish) did not have time to facilitate these training sessions before the Ministry of Education forbade all teacher training in the country until it finished its professionalization program in summer 2001.

Training in how to use *Sugerencias*, however, occurred under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, particularly the Technical Vice Minister, who was impressed by the manual at a presentation made by Proyecto Global and who publicly announced his plan to train Ministry staff to use *Sugerencias* at a July 2001 breakfast forum to introduce the project's efforts to the public sector. The Vice Minister ordered that 22 Ministry staff be trained in how to teach teachers to apply the methods in *Sugerencias* along with 2 representatives from each of the 22 departmental offices of the Ministry of Education. This training occurred in Guatemala City over the 16th and 17th of August 2001, and included not only 44 "technicians" from the Ministry, but also 25 teacher trainers from PAEBI, 15 from Fe y Alegría, and 5 from the Universidad de Galileo.

Proyecto Global hopes that this Ministry-sponsored training will mean that eventually all new teachers will be trained by the Ministry to effectively use *Sugerencias* and that lasting institutional change will result. It is too early to say, however, what the outcome of this two-day training will be and whether teacher trainers who have learned about, but have not used, *dinámicas* in the classroom will be able to be effective in bringing about lasting change in teacher practices.

In addition to this potential for the institutionalization of *Sugerencias* are other promising signs that *Sugerencias* will be used in the future. USAID G/WID has authorized $100,000 for USAID/Guatemala to reproduce as many as 10,000 copies of *Sugerencias* for teacher training purposes. PAEBI has begun to use some of the techniques from *Sugerencias* when they train teachers in bilingual education and plans to incorporate *Sugerencias* into its teacher training program when it receives sufficient copies.

Community Work

Community sensitizing workshops are an essential step for promoting girls' education. In the most traditional rural communities in Guatemala—where women are not accorded the same status that men enjoy, are not allowed to participate in local governance, are not allowed to express opinions in public, and lack self-esteem—community-sensitizing workshops introduce the idea that women are important contributing members of the community who have valuable opinions and deserve respect. The value of such sensitizing workshops for increasing support for girls' education was convincingly demonstrated in Guatemala by the NGO Asociación Guatemalteca de Educación Sexual (AGES), which funded scholarships for girls from 1987 through 1994. An evaluation of AGES found that community work to motivate parents to be aware of and to support their daughter's schooling was a crucial factor in the scholarship program's success.

From its inception, Proyecto Global planned to use community sensitizing workshops as an intervention method to promote girls' education. In its first year Proyecto Global developed a sensitization program in coordination with DIGEBI that was conducted in 11 departments (i.e., administrative units akin to state or counties) throughout the country. This program was ended when USAID/Guatemala requested that Proyecto Global focus its efforts on a single department: El Quiché. The project then intended to begin such workshops once the creation of social communication materials (for use in communities) was complete. However, the prolonged length of the Situational Assessment and its academic findings considerably slowed the process of developing social communication materials. Thus, when an invitation to begin sensitization work appeared early in year three, Proyecto Global took advantage of it. Proyecto Global's Quiché coordinator received this "invitation" while organizing teachers' manual training sessions in the fall of 1999: a member of the community of Tzununul (in the department of El Quiché) approached her with a request for organizing and leading community sensitization workshops that would raise the awareness of the community about the importance of girls' and women's education and female literacy.

To respond to this request and begin sensitization work in El Quiché, Proyecto Global's Quiché staff began to work with Comunidad Mayas Alfabetizadas (Community of Literate Mayans, or COMAL). Over the first few months of 2000, the staff held various meetings with community representatives of Tzununul, a school committee, auxiliary mayors, and parents. Ostensibly these meetings were for the staff to make presentations about Proyecto Global and to ensure that all community stakeholders were aware of what the workshops would do and "bought in" to the idea. Concurrently, these meetings allowed the Proyecto Global staff to evaluate whether conducting sensitizing workshops in the community would be worthwhile and had any chance of success.

As Proyecto Global began to develop a relationship with Tzununul, it repeated this same pattern of presentation and investigation in several other communities in the Quiché region. Although time-consuming, carefully selecting the communities was crucial because many were not predisposed to support any work related to girls' education—a term considered by many indigenous parents to be a government euphemism for teaching girls about family planning or sexuality. Working in communities predisposed against any girls' education efforts would be a tremendous expenditure of time and resources without much probability of a positive return. The difficulty and expense can be immediately appreciated when one realizes that most indigenous communities in El Quiché are not easily accessible during good weather and many are not accessible at all during bad weather, have no means of communication with the outside world other than physically carried messages, and must adjust their schedule to the farming calendar and climate changes. Thus a workshop may be cancelled without warning if a community needs suddenly to work extended hours in the fields, even though Proyecto Global staff may have spent a week pre-arranging a community meeting and three hours driving and two hours hiking to reach a community for the meeting.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff ultimately approached 22 communities, offering to organize community-sensitizing workshops. Five rejected the offer outright. Several others were wary about agreeing to such workshops because of their traditional cultural norms and the economic need for children to work in the home and fields. In the end, the Proyecto Global Quiché staff worked in 15 Quiché communities: Chupoj II, Laguna Seca I, San Francisco, Chipacá I, Mactzul II, Parraxtut, Tzununul, Chiaj, Chujip, Sac Xac, Xeul Xebaquit, Xebaquit, Pachó Chicalté, Panajxit I, and Panajxit II.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff gave a general presentation for the initial meeting with new communities, then followed a flexible format for subsequent workshops. The staff adapted their presentations and workshops to the needs of individual communities and encouraged community participation in shaping the meetings' agendas. The staff were able to be extremely flexible because

they were fluent enough in K'iche', the local Mayan language, and comfortable enough with the culture to couch their presentations in Mayan metaphors and terms that resonated with both indigenous men and women. The staff also did not need to create all new materials but were able to use materials that had been developed in the project's first year-long sensitization program with DIGEBI. The staff did not invite any particular participants to these workshops. Instead the workshops were held at the end of regular community assemblies and meetings, and everyone in the community was invited to attend. Often several generations would be present.

For each sensitizing workshop, the staff led guided explorations by using interactive and dynamic materials (e.g., creating murals from cut out pictures, drawing maps of the community, discussing selected images of gender inequality and equality). These guided explorations were meant to (1) explore topics of interest to the community and topics of gender sensitivity, (2) encourage community participants to reflect on local factors limiting girls' primary school completion, and (3) identify community-based initiatives that could improve the situation. For example, the Pachó Chicalté community conducted a "study" of how much work men and women do daily. Other guided explorations included examining parents' expectations for their sons and daughters, considering the role of the community's school and the problems it faces, and mentally touring a map of the community and explaining problems encountered in different locales. After these explorations, staff structured the workshops to help the participants select a course of action to address identified problems and organize themselves to undertake and monitor their community-based initiatives with GEA technical support, the prospect of outside funding support and self-generated resources.

Over time, participating communities' support for sensitizing workshops increased, as did their rates of school enrollment for girls, according to Proyecto Global's Quiché staff. However, no enrollment statistics were collected as follow-ups to the monthly or occasional workshops, and no other measurement was attempted. Schoolteachers interviewed in participating communities did, however, indicate that they observed an increase in girls' enrollment and persistence.

Proyecto Global's Quiché staff also noted that over the course of these community workshops, the language of the participants changed. Many participants stopped using the masculine-general term *los niños* (the boys) to refer to all children and began to use the gender-equal phrase *los niños y las niñas* (the boys and girls). Some families also began to speak of the possibility of sending their daughters to middle school—a high level of education for women in rural communities.

Besides such changes in *how* people talked, *who* talked in these communities also changed. Most noticeably, women began to speak in public. In many parts of rural Guatemala, women are traditionally not allowed to participate in community meetings or offer public opinions. In the

communities that participated in the sensitization workshops, both men and women were encouraged to voice their feelings and perspectives. Not only did this make women feel empowered and feel engaged with a larger world, but it also promoted dialogue between men and women. Such examples of female community-level participation and greater gender equality are believed to encourage girls' education by giving young girls reason to think about and learn about the world.

The most evident change in attitude in the course of these sensitizing workshops occurred in Tzununul. The community of Tzununul imposes a fine of 10 to 20 Quetzales or four hours of jail time on families who do not send their daughters to school.[11] This community is also thinking about how to build a middle school and how to help migrant families leave their children in the community to continue their schooling when the rest of the families go to the coast to harvest crops in the spring.

Given the success in this handful of participating communities and the regional interest of NGOs (such as FUNRURAL, a coffee growers' private foundation, and CARE) in community-sensitizing activities, the project decided to document its experiences and techniques in a community participation manual. The project contracted with Erin Sologaistoa from the Florida-based Grupo de Apoyo a la Educación de la Mujer (GAEM) to document the staff's participatory learning activities. Sologaistoa completed a draft of the manual in October 2000, and the Proyecto Global staff supplemented and amplified the draft with further details, images, and materials to assist community facilitators.[12] In September 2001, after the manual was approved by USAID, Proyecto Global held a workshop to disseminate and conduct training in the use of the manual to organizations such as PAEBI, DDE, and a variety of local NGOs. It is hoped that NGOs and governmental groups will begin using the manual. This seems very possible given the degree of interest and support that PAEBI, CARE, IXMUKANE, CONALFA, and UNICEF, among others, have expressed in the development of the manual. In addition, there has been some government support. The Ministry of Education's Office of Departmental Education (DDE in Spanish) required all CTAs in the department of El Quiché to attend a presentation on the community participation guide in 2000. Moreover, the Ministry invited the Governor of El Quiché to attend, which he did.

Social Communication Materials

Part of the project's original plan was to have Dr. Richards's Situational Assessment provide a foundation for the development of social communication materials that could promote the cause of

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[11] Since these investigations, this fine has become Q 25, and the jail time may have been eliminated.

girls' education and be used in community interventions (such as the community-sensitizing workshops). The development of social communication materials progressed slowly because of the time the Situational Assessment took up and because the assessment's findings did not recommend a particular strategy. The development of social communication materials can be said to have properly begun when Leo Burnet, a private advertisement firm in Guatemala City, became interested in the cause of promoting girls' education and offered to develop a campaign to promote the cause.

The firm devoted staff time to brainstorm a campaign. Their commercial experience suggested that a campaign based on variations around the phrase "If I were your daughter, you would..." would be catchy and effective. Leo Burnet selected several slogans:

- "If I were your daughter, you would know my language and traditions and would teach me better."
- "If I were your daughter, you would encourage me to participate in class."
- "If I were your daughter, you would prepare each lesson with love."
- "If I were your daughter, you would help me stay in school."
- "If I were your daughter, you wouldn't think twice about supporting me to stay in school."

Each slogan was paired with an image of a smiling indigenous girl and information on how to contribute Q 25 monthly to support scholarships for rural girls. The leader of this campaign at Leo Burnet explained that his group designed this campaign to raise the level of urban consciousness and to inform the middle- and upper-class urban population of the existence of scholarships and of ways they could support the cause of indigenous girls' education.

Leo Burnet recommended that AEN coordinate and launch a media campaign with these ads for six to eight weeks on local TV, cable TV, and radio, in newspapers, and on billboards and follow up every other month for eight months. They estimated the cost of the initial campaign at $214,000, with $637,000 for the follow-up. Leo Burnet expected that if it developed these materials *pro bono*, AEN would be able to line up other companies or organizations to pay for or underwrite commercial airtime and newspaper advertisement space. But such financial support from other parts of the private sector or NGOs was not forthcoming.

By mid-2000, it was apparent that Leo Burnet's contributions were not being optimized. Moreover, with AEN in a transitional phase, it was clear that media and public relations would not be

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[12] "Guía Para la Participación Comunitaria en la Educación de la Niña" (Guatemala 2001). Also see Erin Sologaistoa, "Engaging Civil Society Action in Support of Girls' Education in El Quiché," (Proyecto Global para la Educación de la Niña, Santa Cruz del Quiché, Guatemala, August 8, 2000—October 3, 2000).

efficiently coordinated any time soon. About this time, staff at USAID/Guatemala recommended that Proyecto Global hire a private consulting firm—Gish Paz Associates—to develop social communication materials parallel to the work of Leo Burnet. Proyecto Global contracted with this firm in summer 2000.

The consultant in charge of the activity undertook substantial research to learn how the indigenous communities in Quiché view girls' education. Unlike Richards's Situational Assessment, which looked at cultural concepts and habits, the Gish Paz work focused on identifying barriers to girls' entering or remaining in school that a social communication campaign could address. On the basis of extensive community interviews, Gish Paz identified three distinct audiences:

1. Parents who were already sending their daughters to school but whose support for their daughters' schooling was not solid;
2. Parents who were not sending school-age children to school; and
3. Girls on the brink of leaving school because they felt too old to be in school.

In addition, this research revealed that separate messages should be addressed to mothers and fathers. Thus Gish Paz developed different social communications materials (posters and radio spots) for five targeted audiences: mothers with daughters in school, fathers with daughters in school, mothers with daughters not in school, fathers with daughters not in school, and girls on the brink of leaving school.

Radio spots, which were written as short vignettes, were designed specifically for rural communities. All spots were produced in two languages, Spanish and K'iche'. The consultant also made an extensive effort to meet with a broad range of NGOs working in El Quiché to discuss the communications materials and has piqued their interest in disseminating the materials themselves in the future.

The Gish Paz materials aired in El Quiché in February 2001, about the time when parents were enrolling their children in school for the new academic year. The cost of the radio spots was shared by Proyecto Global and the radio stations that aired them. The impact of the radio spots, however, was not measured. The limited airtime of the campaign undoubtedly mitigated its effectiveness somewhat, since migrant families enroll their children in school throughout the year. Still, despite the lack of systematic measurements, Gish Paz is confident that girls' enrollment rates in El Quiché schools increased after the radio spots were aired because of the strong, positive reactions that the spots received when they were pilot tested with rural communities. These spots led

to spirited discussions in focus groups and inspired parents in the focus groups to become passionate about the idea of enrolling their daughters in school.

The future of these spots is unclear, but they may still be used for future promotional campaigns or as part of community sensitizing workshops if PAEBI and/or CARE receive copies of them.

Gish Paz also produced posters, a game, and several dozen stories to be used with children to nurture the idea that schooling is important. All of these materials incorporate the same social communication messages developed out of the community interviews and pilot-test groups. These materials to date have not yet been approved by USAID; when they are approved they will be turned over to AEN to be reproduced and used for their communication activities throughout the country.

Scholarships

One of the most persistent barriers to indigenous girls' education is the poverty of indigenous families who rely on their children's labor to make ends meet. Girls from the age of 8 are valuable family resources who typically can sew and embroider products for sale, as well as take care of livestock, wash, cook, haul water, and tend younger children. Girls' schooling not only deprives indigenous families of such labor, but also taxes a family's budget to pay for school materials. School materials can cost between $5.00 and $17.00 at the beginning of the school year—a great deal for a rural farmer who earns between $1.70 and $3.40 a day.

To show a way to address this economic barrier, AGES piloted a scholarship program in the 1980s that paid families about $4.00 a month to compensate for their daughter's lost wages and to help pay for the cost of schooling. For each community in which girls received scholarships, AGES also assigned or hired a "promoter" to support families and provide training on the value of an education. This combination of funding and support proved very successful: evaluations of the girls who received scholarships found their attendance, promotion, and completion rates higher than those of the control groups and the overall national statistics.[13]

On the basis of the success of AGES's girls' scholarship program in Guatemala in the 1980s, the Ministry of Education launched a similar scholarship program in 1994. The goal was to increase the enrollment of one "generation" of poor, indigenous girls in primary schools. The Ministry planned to provide scholarships for three cohorts of girls, for a total of 36,000 girls overall, who would become a model generation of educated women in the future. Initially, the government offered families Q 25 a month ($3.33 USD).

The success of the Ministry's program (Programa de becas para niñas indígenas del área rural) was limited—the Ministry gave out only 600 scholarships in the first year—because it was not able to inform families about the available scholarships and to distribute the funds effectively. The Ministry therefore contracted with the coffee growers' private foundation, FUNRURAL, and AEN to administer the program, which was reorganized and renamed Programa de becas para niñas del área rural. FUNRURAL had the advantage of pre-existing and extensive community networks throughout the country. AEN was to hire promoters to provide family and community support for the scholarship program. The contract was signed in 1996, and FUNRURAL distributed funds to its first cohort of scholarship recipients in 1997. The project supported 27,000 girls in its first year—approximately 6,800 in the Department of El Quiché—and 50,000 in total by the end of the three-year period.

Pursuing BEST/GEP's emphasis and work on scholarships, Proyecto Global hired a consultant, María Antonieta Delpino, in 1999 to evaluate the FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program in El Quiché. The purpose of the evaluation was to document the success of the program and indicate to the Ministry the desirability of expanding this program to more girls and more communities. Delpino found that the program had measurable impacts on scholarship recipients, particularly on girls' attendance, promotion, aspirations in life, and self-esteem, which included a greater sense of security, the ability to express oneself, and the ability to develop new relationships. Her evaluation also found that the program increased parents' appreciation of girls' education and its ability to improve the economic status of families.[14]

At the same time, though, the evaluation revealed that the administrating parties, the government, and the schools had not kept records of how long the girls had received scholarships or of what happened to girls who received scholarships after their scholarship ended. Reportedly, no parties wanted to be held accountable for the program or for what the scholarships achieved. The evaluation also revealed that teachers in schools with girls on scholarship (1) were not always aware which girls had received a scholarship, (2) did not generally have sufficient sensitivity to the aims of the scholarship program, and (3) were not aware that their own conduct and teaching perpetuated stereotypical gender roles.[15] Similarly, the evaluation found that community members were often unaware that girls in their community were receiving scholarships and did not understand the

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[13] CDIE, Impact Evaluation, "Improving Girls' Education in Guatemala" (July 1999), p. 7.
[14] María Antonieta Delpino, "Informe Evaluación del 'Programa de Becas para Niñas del Area Rural' en Guatemala" (10/10/99).
[15] Ibid., 26-28.

purpose of scholarships. This situation makes it hard to assess whether scholarships have encouraged the idea of girls' education in the community.

When the FUNRURAL-AEN–administered scholarship program ended in 2000, the Ministry replaced it with two new scholarship programs: Scholarships for Rural Girls, which provides scholarships for at-risk girls between the ages of 6 and 14, and Scholarships for Peace, which provides the same type of scholarships for boys and girls from rural or suburban areas. To qualify for these programs, girls and boys must have been abandoned or orphaned, have single mothers, have fathers who are unable to work, have parents who are migrant workers, or, in the case of girls, live in families with mostly male children. These programs are administered directly by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with community-level school committees, which must be legally established by the community and are then responsible for applying for scholarships and administering them locally.

The continuation of the scholarship program demonstrates some continued governmental commitment to education in rural areas but with a de-emphasis on rural girls. Ending the partnership with FUNRURAL and AEN means losing business skills, direct access to communities in rural areas, and social work to support the program. Local administration of the new scholarship program also means that it will be even more difficult to monitor processes and program outcomes in the future.

National Networks and Conferences

Although Proyecto Global did not orchestrate or lead any networks to coordinate different groups' efforts to promote girls' education nationally, it did participate in two networks meant to coordinate such efforts: JICA's Red de Información y Coordinación de Educación de la Niña (Network of Information and Coordination on Girls' Education) and AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional (National Effort).

JICA's Red de Información y Coordinación has included among its members, in addition to Proyecto Global, AEN, Fundación Castillo Córdova, Fundazúcar, FUNRURAL, Tierra Viva, DIGEBI, PRONADE, SIMAC, USAID, UNESCO, Universidad del Valle, UCONME, BEZACHI, CEDRO, CNEM, Comité Beijing, Congreso de la República, Consejo de Lectura, Cuerpo de Paz, Fe y alegría, Intervida, Mother Care, PERA, Talita Kumi, and Visión Mundial. The network still exists.

AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional included, in addition to Proyecto Global, representatives from Fundación Castillo Córdova, Fundazúcar, FUNRURAL, Tierra Viva, DIGEBI, PRONADE, SIMAC, USAID, UNICEF, Universidad Francisco Marroquín, Canal 7, El Periódico, Prensa Libre, Fundación G&T, Colegio Pierre Mont, Colegio Suizo Americano, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, Ministerio

de Economía, Ministerio de Trabajo, Minugua, ODHAG, CARE, and QUILSA. This network was created in November 2000 to promote multi-sectoral involvement in girls' education. However, its effectiveness was very limited, and Proyecto Global was no longer actively involved by summer 2001.

Besides these networks, Proyecto Global also helped organize several conferences—specifically, the 2000 Encuentro Cultural del Fortalecimiento de la Cultura Maya (Forum for the Reinforcement of Mayan Culture), the 2000 First Boys' and Girls' National Forum, and the 2000 Third Girls' Education Forum (or Third "Encuentro"). Proyecto Global also participated in the 1998 international conference, "Educating Girls: A Development Imperative."

Analysis of Systemic Changes in Girls' Education in Guatemala

The purpose of the Girls' Education Activity is to support countries in their efforts to improve educational opportunities for girls at the primary school level. This often requires changes in policies at the national, regional, and local levels as well as in the infrastructure to implement those policies and change practices. For Proyecto Global, the specific goals of the change process are to *(1) improve girls' access to and completion of primary school and (2) improve the school environment for girls, particularly for indigenous girls and girls in rural areas*. This section of the study uses MSI's CFAC to analyze GEA's accomplishments in stimulating organizational and socio-political change in Guatemala. They have been organized according to the six tasks in CFAC.

The Legitimization of Policies and Practices in Support of Girls' Education (Task 1)

The initial step in the CFAC is the legitimization of the desired systemic change. Legitimization is the process by which people and organizations that are in positions to commit economic and political capital in support of a policy idea—that is, essential opinion leaders—declare publicly that a policy is important to pursue. This is the first step in the policy change process and an absolute prerequisite for building larger constituencies and accumulating resources in support of change. For GEA projects, two policy dimensions needed to be legitimized: (1) the overall systemic change goals and (2) the GEA organization as an appropriate facilitator (though not central agent) in the change process.

In Guatemala, essential opinion leaders at the national level have included the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Culture, prominent politicians, major bilateral and multilateral agencies (e.g., JICA, CARE, UNICEF), and educational advocates and women's

advocates in the NGO community (e.g., Fe y Alegría, Tierra Viva, PRONADE). At the regional level, these have included the Office of Departmental Education (DDE) and its CTAs and the DIGEBI division, regional politicians, and regional educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community (e.g., IXMUCANE, ADESCO). At the local level, these have included community elders and governing committees, teachers, and perhaps prominent community members.

Proyecto Global was able to contact the great majority of these groups, but had varying degrees of success in convincing them to embrace the policy of promoting girls' education and to recognize Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy. At the national level, the Ministry of Education (including SIMAC and DIGEBI) officially committed itself to this policy and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator. However, it is important to recognize that two Ministers have held the position since 1997, each evincing different levels of support, and that institutional action has not followed rhetorical support (e.g., the two official Ministry positions created to promote girls' education have not been filled since the government elected in 2000 came into power). It is also important to realize that the Ministry's commitment and recognition were in large part (1) because Proyecto Global followed the BEST project, which had legitimized both a girls' education policy in Guatemala and USAID's facilitating role, and (2) because the government of Guatemala had participated in the Common Agenda and agreed to work with Japan and the United States to promote girls' education.

Despite fluctuating degrees of support from the Ministry, at no time at the national level has any prominent politician made girls' education a *cause célèbre*. This is not surprising in a country just emerging from decades of civil conflict. Education is not a high social priority compared with economic growth, financial stability, and infrastructure development.

Proyecto Global seemed to gain tacit approval for the policy from UNICEF and CARE, which share an appreciation of the importance of girls' education. However, JICA did not fully support Proyecto Global's efforts, probably because of USAID's failure to cooperate with JICA, as originally envisioned in the Common Agenda, and Proyecto Global's different, and perhaps sometimes competing, approach to the same policy objective. Among national NGOs, AEN recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy when the project began. However, AEN's effective leadership collapsed when the wife of the mayor of Guatemala City left soon after Proyecto Global began, which undermined AEN's ability to be an opinion leader. Unfortunately, subsequent AEN leadership did not fully support Proyecto Global's efforts. A number of major national educational and women's advocates in the NGO community, such as Fe y Alegría, PRONADE, Baha'i, and AGES, also appreciated Proyecto Global's policy goal and valued its work.

However, a surprising number, such as Tierra Viva, Bancafé, and Fundación G&T, seemed only vaguely aware of Proyecto Global's policy goal or its work toward that goal, even though Tierra Viva was a member of the same national networks. Hence, these groups were largely untapped resources for legitimizing the project.

At the departmental level, the Quiché DDE legitimized Proyecto Global's teacher training work. At the beginning of the series of teacher workshops to revise *La Creación* into *Sugerencias* in fall 1999, a DDE representative paid an "unsolicited visit" to give the teachers a 30-minute "pep talk" and encourage their work with Proyecto Global, which a project monitor felt "demonstrate[d] [an] acknowledgment of World Learning's work and of the Girls' Project in particular."[16] In addition, the Quiché CTA sent representatives to participate in and assist these workshops. DIGEBI introduced the Quiché Proyecto Global staff to Quiché community leaders, which provided crucial legitimization at the start of the community-sensitizing work. It was not possible to sort out whether such official support arose from a commitment to girls' education or from the realization that the work of Proyecto Global assisted DDE, CTA, and DIGEBI achieve their own institutional goals.

Some regional educational advocates and women's advocates in the NGO community, such as IXMUCANE, were unaware of Proyecto Global and their shared policy goals. As on the national level, these resources went untapped.

At the local level, community elders and governing committees—in each community that was willing to work with Proyecto Global—accepted the importance of the policy of promoting girls' education and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy. They did so in large part because Proyecto Global staff were introduced to them by DIGEBI and hence were already legitimized. It is also crucial to recognize that Proyecto Global did not work in any community that had any opposition to the policy or reluctance to work with Proyecto Global's Quiché staff.

Building a Lasting Girls' Education Constituency (Task 2)

Building on legitimization, the CFAC identifies constituency building as the next step in the process. Constituency building is the task of creating stakeholders—those who appreciate the problem of girls' education, who feel they would benefit from the problem's solution, and who are thus willing to invest personal and organizational resources in support of a project or policy to promote girls' education. Proyecto Global pursued different strategies to build constituencies and, as with legitimization, had varying levels of success.

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[16] Rebecca Cusic, "Trip Report for October 25—November 11, 1999 GEA" (November 15, 1999), 2.

At the national level, besides presenting at forums and conferences to generate publicity for its work and the need to support girls' education in general, Proyecto Global actively worked to increase private sector involvement in girls' education. In 1999, Proyecto Global assisted AEN in developing and preparing promotional packages designed to interest private companies in funding the Girls' Scholarship program.[17] These efforts, however, produced limited results. According to the GEA Country Coordinator, the private sector in Guatemala is not traditionally predisposed to support such work. In July 2001, however, Proyecto Global again tried to generate private sector interest through four breakfasts at which business leaders learned how they could underwrite social communication materials and the project's *Sugerencias* and its Community Guide. Because these efforts came at the very end of the project, it is unclear whether they will have any results.

Proyecto Global did not create networks to promote girls' education, but it did participate in two networks—the Red de Información y Coordinación and AEN's Esfuerzo Nacional. Although these networks were meant to coordinate efforts to promote girls' education, NGOs complained that national efforts suffered from a lack of coordination. Part of the problem, however, may have been institutional and personal reluctance to cooperate in any network, a societal trait that both GEA staff and some NGO staff attributed to Guatemala's decades of civil conflict and its debilitating effects on public trust.

Proyecto Global did not reach out to the national press, which would have been a natural constituency. *Prensa Libre*, in particular, would have made a good ally and stakeholder because it runs an extensive campaign to promote literacy and primary education in the country through inserts in its papers. Neither the liberal nor the conservative press in Guatemala City was familiar with Proyecto Global or with any girls' education project.

At the regional level, Proyecto Global did little to create stakeholders. Limited or no efforts were made to involve regional politicians, and a plan to organize regional NGOs into a regional network was never realized. Moreover, the radio spots that were to generate public support for the project's policy in El Quiché were aired only a few times during one month.

Proyecto Global's constituency-building efforts primarily focused on the local level. Proyecto Global very effectively made bilingual teachers and the CTA into stakeholders by (1) organizing them to participate in the development of the teacher-training manual and (2) allowing them ultimately to have control over the presentation of the manual's content—which gave this group a sense of real authorship. Proyecto Global Quiché staff formed an informal consultative group

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[17] Ibid., 6.

in El Quiché composed of 20 local NGOs and Ministry of Education departmental entities who became more engaged in promoting girls' education. Proyecto Global's Quiché staff also successfully created stakeholders in participating communities by (a) offering real services to the communities, such as modeling problem-solving skills and facilitating real community problem solving; (b) using the communities' own language, Ki'che'; and (c) carefully involving the community's governing body, the community's parent group, and the community's teachers simultaneously so that no one felt overlooked or slighted. Again, it is important to reiterate that Proyecto Global did not work in communities where there was any opposition to the policy or reluctance to work with Proyecto Global's Quiché staff.

Realigning and Mobilizing Resources in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 3)

Proyecto Global had limited success in acquiring and mobilizing financial and in-kind organizational support for the project's teacher training, community workshop, and social communication initiatives. Juarez & Associates estimates that the total financial support for girls' education activities between 1997 and 2001 from Guatemala's civil society was $6 million (USD) and from Guatemala's government was about $6.5 million, with about $6.3 million of these funds going to scholarship programs.[18] However, the largest contribution of financial resources to Proyecto Global was Leo Burnet's *pro bono* work to develop the social communication materials for a campaign to promote girls' education.

Proyecto Global had much more success in accumulating human and institutional capital. Most prominently, Proyecto Global's series of workshops to develop *Sugerencias* motivated participating teachers to try *dinámicas* in their classrooms, report their successes, and thereby build an expertise among those teachers in how to incorporate interactive and dynamic teaching methods into regular classroom instruction. These teachers will be able to train the Ministry staff in how to effectively use *Sugerencias* and, perhaps most invaluably, can provide teacher testimonials to persuade other teachers to seriously consider using *Sugerencias* in their own classrooms.

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[18] See forthcoming report by Dr. Ray Chesterfield. Note that this amount is probably more reliable than the amount estimated by a consultant hired by Proyecto Global, who estimated Guatemalan financial contributions, including the government, at about $41 million (USD). Private sector financial support for girls' education apparently came from AEN, FUNRURAL, Fundación Marinano Castillo Córdova, Comunidad Ba'hai, AGES, Fundaniña, Fe y Alegría, Fundación Rigoberta Menchu Tun, Tierra Viva, Amigos del Pais, Banco Industrial, Fundación Castillo Love, ALMG, ASINDES, CDRO, Plan International, Niños Refugiados del Mundo, SHARE, Escuelas Sin Fronteras, Bell South Proniño, and Grupo del Apoyo Mutuo GAM.

Similarly, the community-sensitizing workshops built up human capital in the form of pockets of localized expertise in how to solve community problems through consensual participatory methods and how to argue the merits and advantages of supporting girls' education. Such communities can, to a certain extent, serve as models for community work, although it is unclear how effective the same methods would be in a community that is not predisposed to receive promoters of girls' education. They can also provide testimonials about the value of embracing girls' education as a community policy.

Gish Paz's research accumulated institutional resources to the extent that it provided a model of an effective method—meeting with target audiences to learn their concerns about an issue and then pilot testing materials with them to gauge their responses to different materials. The research also revealed that parental audiences should be addressed differently—mothers versus fathers and families who send their children to school versus those who do not. Whether the airing of the Gish Paz radio spots resonated with indigenous parents and accumulated any public support for girls' education is impossible to say because no follow-up measurement was conducted.

Modifying Organizational Structures in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 4)

According to MSI's CFAC, one way to determine the success of a policy change effort is to examine the extent to which structures are created or modified as a result of the mobilization of resources. Change can be an internal or an external phenomenon. It may include changes in the structures of organizations that have been mobilized to support girls' education as well as the creation of new structures to support girls' education. Change can also be at different levels, from changes in individual organizations to changes in homes, classrooms, schools, and communities, to changes in local, regional, and national policy regimes.

At the organizational level, it is unclear whether girls' education activities over the past few years in Guatemala have had much, if any, impact on the structures of the organizations working to promote girls' education. Organizations that participate actively in national and regional network activities were previously sympathetic to issues related to basic or girls' education and have not transformed their underlying missions or basic policies as a result of Proyecto Global's activities. The Ministry of Education did create two official positions to promote girls' education, but the individuals in these positions were not granted any authority or given funding to make changes.

In communities that sent teachers to help develop *Sugerencias*, classroom practices have reportedly changed in ways that will keep more girls coming to school and help more girls advance

through the grades at the expected pace.[19] Also, the community of Tzununul has changed its regulations; parents who do not send their daughters to school are fined. Additional changes, especially in homes and schools, may have occurred that we were not able to observe or learn about.

Mobilizing Action in Favor of Girls' Education (Task 5)

A basic assumption of the Girls' Education Activity is that project offices in each country facilitate change on behalf of girls' education instead of being the direct agents of change. Projects are supposed to assist other organizations, produce tools, and mobilize leaders and communities to improve girls' education rather than provide extensive funding or be extensively involved in program implementation. This model places an onus on country coordinators and project staff to creatively leverage resources. Proyecto Global's successes in mobilizing resources were constrained by its limited accumulation of sources.

The government's ambivalent support for girls' education was especially problematic. Although the Ministry of Education officially committed itself to promoting girls' education as a policy and recognized Proyecto Global as an appropriate facilitator for this policy, the government did not fund or assist the work of girls' education as fully as it promised it would. It is important to recognize that BEST had encountered the same pattern when it received financial commitments from the Ministry of Education that were never fulfilled.

Proyecto Global was able to mobilize the Ministry of Education to send staff to become trained in the uses of *Sugerencias,* which may eventually lead to its inclusion in the Ministry's teacher training programs. However, it remains to be seen to what extent *Sugerencias* becomes institutionalized.

Proyecto Global's lack of accumulated financial support and connections with the private sector meant that it was not able to mobilize support for the Leo Burnet advertisement campaign, for the Gish Paz radio spots, or for the printing costs of *Sugerencias* or the community participation manual.

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[19] Data collected for Juarez & Associates found no statistically discernible changes in student-teacher interactions or in girls' participation rates, on average, for these schools to confirm these anecdotal reports. However, no classroom-level / teacher-specific data were collected.

Monitoring the Progress of Systemic Change (Task 6)

The last CFAC task addresses monitoring impact as a key element of sustained change management. This dimension is important because an effective monitoring system provides formative information (1) to guide future actions (i.e., mobilize resources and design and modify organizational structures) that support a policy goal and (2) to increase legitimacy, build constituencies, and accumulate resources if an initiative has been successful in achieving its policy objectives. In short, effective monitoring provides an important feedback loop to all the other dimensions of the policy change process.

In Guatemala, the monitoring of impacts was limited to the evaluation of the FUNRURAL-AEN scholarship program in El Quiché and to a study of the number of NGOs and public sector organizations that allocated resources to support girls' education. Both were requested by USAID. Even these, however, were limited because neither FUNRURAL nor the government collected data on the girls who received scholarships and because NGOs were reluctant to divulge how much time and financial resources they devoted to support girls' education.

Proyecto Global staff proposed additional monitoring to validate the Gish Paz radio spots[20]; however, it was decided that various NGOs in El Quiché would conduct such monitoring. In the end, no monitoring occurred because at the time the spots aired, NGOs were not ready to follow through with monitoring.

GEA made varying degrees of progress in the Framework's Tasks 1, 2, and 3. However, the constituency for girls' education in Guatemala remains limited to certain sectors of society and, even in El Quiche, is robust only in pockets where there was community work. In large measure, the political and economic concerns of a country coming out of 36-years of civil conflict continue to eclipse concerns about girls' education. For the Framework's Tasks 4, 5, and 6 much work remains to be done. In particular, effective means of mobilizing action and instituting monitoring systems must be developed if the Guatemala is to sustain a movement to promote girls' education.

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[20] Tomasa Bulux called for monitoring and discussed with Rebecca Cusic the idea of "monitoring the use of the teacher manual for the 2000 school year and putting together a baseline." See Rebecca Cusic, "Trip Report for October 25—November 11, 1999 GEA" (November 15, 1999), 6.

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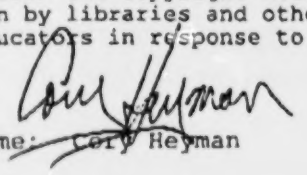
Signature:  Position: Senior Research Scientist

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